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595 I enquired from the informant why she had married a second husband in this way, considering that she had had children by her first one and that, consequently, it did not seem at all necessary for her to take so drastic a step. Her answer confirmed my belief that a second husband is often brought in in order to acquire more labour for the cultivation of the family plot, for she replied: "I married Tsering P'hüntzok because Tsering was old and unable to work very well any more." She then added the informative remark: "It is cheaper to take an extra husband than a servant."

Neighbours, whom Joseph and I questioned later about this family, assured us, nevertheless, that Lha-dzom had not spoken the truth to us. They scoffed at her statements that she needed more labour on her husband's estate, and said that she was a very ardent woman, whom old Tsering could no longer satisfy sexually. So she had taken Tsering P'hüntzok who was much younger (28 years old, they said), and Tsering had agreed to it because he was tired of his wife's sexual appetite anyway. I must say that in my interview with the woman, I did form the impression that there probably was some truth in the neighbour's gossip. It did not mean, however, that what Lha-dzom had told us was not true; both pronouncements could be correct, for having a new husband, while very pleasant from the matrimonial point of view, was also useful in what concerned the cultivation of the fields. Pleasure and business thus appeared admirably combined in Lha-dzom's case, and Tsering, who could have objected and might have been the major obstacle, made no trouble and accepted the situation. He probably got something out of it, too.

834 124 595 I had heard so much about these people's sexual life during these interviews, that it came as a surprise to me when I asked Joseph to enquire if anybody knew anything about father and son polyandry in Kalatse and he refused to do so. We were in conversation with a female neighbour at the time, and Joseph flatly refused to enquire about the subject upon which I wanted information because, he said, it is not possible to question a woman about sexual matters in Tibet if she is either younger or older than yourself. The same applied to close relatives, and the prohibition was called *ka-dzem-ches* (*K'ha-aDzem-Ches*) meaning "mouth to shrink from". What we had been told about Lha-dzom did not come under the category of questioning the woman on sexual affairs, it seemed, since she had volunteered the information which we had heard. What was not possible, I gathered, was for Joseph to put queries about sex to the woman. So I was not able to get the

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information that I wanted on the subject of fathers and sons sharing a wife in Kalatse.

Four days later, on the 8th October 1938, we were in Mulbek, the last village where people of Tibetan cultural affinity are to be found on the way westwards. Here, too, I discovered polyandrous families, and interviewed them through Joseph, but with some difficulty. It appeared that we had now reached a frontier area, one in which culture contact with non-polyandrous people existed and, as is usual in such a case, those practising polyandry were self-conscious about the custom and reluctant to speak about it to strangers. The first of two genealogies which I was able, nevertheless, to take down, is given in Table 36.

We went to this household, called Skya-pa, because a Moslem whom Joseph knew in the bazaar had told us that we would find a *porjag* in it. In the neighbourhood of the house we were, however, stopped by its inmates, who refused to let us approach it. They were a surly lot, the women wearing a sort of diminutive *perak* (*berag*) on their forehead and no woollen ears any longer, the men dressed in the usual Ladaki clothes. They seemed very reluctant even to speak to us, and Joseph had the greatest difficulty in getting anything out of them. They said that we could not go to the house because it was dirty, and only with the worst possible grace, condescended to speak to us where we stood, in the lane leading to their home.

A man called Tsering Chömpel was our informant. He told us that his parents, Tsering P'hüntzok, his father, and Ngawang Rolma his mother, lived in the *k'hang-gu*, while he with his wife, their four children and his younger brother, Ishe, lived in the *k'hang-chen*. He told us, too, that his two sisters, Yangdzom and Tsering Rolma, were married out in *bag-ma* to other households, respectively to Tsering of T'hustön-pa household, and Chömpel of Tashi Gompa household.

Asked if these two households were polyandrous, he said no, that they were not. Pressed, he added that polyandry was not practised in Mulbek, and that he himself did not share his wife, Stanzin Kündzom, with Ishe. This was denied later by Joseph, who told me that from friends of his in Mulbek, he knew that polyandry existed there just as much as in the rest of Ladak, but that the people did not like to admit it, were shy to do so, and even somewhat ashamed. When I asked about the rumoured *porjag* said to exist there, needless to say, this was hotly denied. We were asked what our source of information was, which we naturally refused to divulge. Whereupon Tsering Chömpel said to Joseph that his family was being slandered.